

# THE KALENDAR OF THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER: 1564-1644

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It should be noted that a date marked † (e.g. †1594) means the edition of *B.C.O.* issued in the year stated.

*The Book of Common Order*<sup>1</sup> has for long been the subject of study, and that from several angles. As a service-book it has been examined from the liturgical point of view. Again since for a long period of its public use it was known as the Psalm-Book, the language of the metrical versions of the Psalms and the music have both received close attention. But there is one section which has been rather neglected, viz., the Kalendar. Cowan in his *Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> gives it a short paragraph, but it does not seem to have been examined in detail hitherto.

The first edition of *B.C.O.* appeared in 1564 and the last in 1644, and in that period of 80 years, there were some 70 editions. These varied considerably as to their contents, but it is striking testimony to the wide and constant use of the book that so many editions did appear, and that they went on appearing, though often incomplete, till the year before the publication of the *Westminster Directory*. Of these 70 editions, 34 at least had the Kalendar, and these were fairly evenly distributed over the period, though it may be noted that the first forty years had 13 of them and the second forty the other 21.

I propose first of all to indicate the official attitude within our period towards the Kalendar and the Christian Year; secondly, to note the actual observance of the Kalendar in the period; thirdly, to make a detailed examination of the Kalendar, of its contents and variations from edition to edition, and to compare it with other Kalendars of the time; and lastly, to indicate some of the problems which arise from our study.

## I

What was the official attitude to the Kalendar? The *First Book of Discipline*, issued in 1560, deals firmly with the question of festival days.

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter referred to as *B.C.O.* Similarly *B.C.P.* stands for the *Book of Common Prayer*.

<sup>2</sup> William Cowan: *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556-1644*. Edinburgh, 1913, pp. 9f. Referred to as C.

It declares that among the things to be utterly suppressed as being "damnable to man's salvation" is "the keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by men, such as be all those that the papists have invented, as the feasts, as they term them, of Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other fond feasts of our Lady." It is noticeable that here we have no mention of Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday.

In the autumn of 1566 the official attitude was even more strict.<sup>1</sup> A letter came from Beza to Knox with regard to the *Second Helvetic Confession*,<sup>2</sup> requesting the Scots to examine and pronounce upon it. A meeting of ministers and others was held at St. Andrews, and the Confession was warmly approved. The reply said that in the book "was most faithfully, holily, piously, and indeed divinely explained, and that briefly, whatever we have been constantly teaching these eight years, and still by the grace of God continue to teach."<sup>3</sup> But there was one point of criticism. The *Confession* had said in Chapter 24, "If churches in right of their Christian liberty commemorate religiously our Lord's nativity, circumcision, passion and resurrection, with his ascension into heaven, and the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, we highly approve thereof. But feasts instituted in honour of men or angels, we approve not; although we acknowledge that the remembrance of the saints is profitable and should in its own place and time be commended to the people from the pulpit and the holy example of the saints set before all for imitation." To this the Scots objected. "With regard to what is written in the 24th chapter of the aforesaid Confession concerning the festivals of our Lord's nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending the Holy Ghost upon his disciples, these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast day than what the divine Oracles have prescribed."<sup>4</sup> This goes further than the *First Book of Discipline* in including Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday in the condemnation.

The General Assembly met on 25th December of the same year at Edinburgh, and gave its approval to Pont's translation of the *Confession*, but "would not allow days dedicat to Christ."<sup>5</sup> And again, the National Covenant of 1581 said that the "dedicating of kirks, altars, days, vows to creatures" was to be condemned.

<sup>1</sup> Laing, *Works of John Knox*, VI, pp. 544-8.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, III, p. 233f.

<sup>3</sup> Laing, *op. cit.*, p. 546.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547.

<sup>5</sup> *Book of the Universal Kirk* (Maitland Club), I, p. 90.

The Courts of the Church adhered to this position. In 1570 the General Assembly decided that communion might be ministered on Pasch Day "where superstition was removed" and in 1577 decided that "ministers or readers who read, preach, or minister communion at Christmas, Easter, in Lent, upon Saints' Days, to retain the people in blindness" should be admonished to desist, and if they refused, should be deprived.<sup>1</sup> There are cases where this ruling was put into effect, for ministers and even dignitaries such as Patrick Adamson, titular Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1586, were called before the courts, charged with celebrating communion on such festival days.

In the 17th century the matter became more complicated. There was an attempt on one side to bring in a wider observance of the festivals. On the other hand the Brownist and Independent influence was against any observance, and there is little doubt that extremists at either end tended to make those at the other end only more extreme. In 1614 a royal proclamation ordered ministers to celebrate the Lord's Supper on 24th April, each member to communicate in his own parish. Now that was Easter Day, though the fact was not mentioned, and it seems that the order was widely obeyed. The next year the order was repeated, but the day was named, Easter Day. In 1616 the Assembly ordered Holy Communion to be celebrated four times yearly, one to be at Easter. The next feast ordered to be kept was Christmas, and in January 1618 a royal proclamation called on the people to "absteene frome all kynd of husbandrie and handie labour on the holiedayis of Christmas, Goode Friday, Easter, Whitsonday and Ascensioun-day, to the end thay may the better attend the holie exercises whilkis we, by advise of the bishops, will appoint to be kept at those tymes in the Churche." The next step was the passing by the Perth Assembly of 1618 of the Five Articles of Perth, the last of which ordered "the commemoration of Christ's birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and the sending down of the Holy Ghost." These articles were confirmed by the Privy Council in October of the same year. Here matters stood until the issue of the Scots Prayer Book of 1637, which had its own Kalendar.<sup>2</sup>

The Assembly of 1638 did away with the Perth Articles, and with them the days of commemoration, and the Westminster Directory of 1644 declared that "there is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the Gospel but the Lord's Day. *Holy-days*, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued."

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, III, p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> This is largely dependent on that of *B.C.P.*, but with many additional black-letter days of Scottish and English saints. See Gordon Donaldson, *The Making of the Scots Prayer Book of 1637*, Edinburgh, 1954, p. 74f.

## II

We must now note the reaction to these official pronouncements, which fall into two classes, some condemning the observance of festivals and others more and more encouraging it.

It seems that in spite of the pronouncements against the festivals, they continued to be observed very widely. There is no need for an extended account of this, as that has been given by Dr. William McMillan in his contribution to the *Records* of this Society,<sup>1</sup> a paper which was embodied in *Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638*<sup>2</sup>. There he adduces clear evidence from contemporary records that the festivals were not abandoned, but were in fact continued even after 1638.

On the other hand, the pressure of the royal party in support of the festivals certainly encouraged their observance, though probably it also stiffened the opposition of the puritans. As the latter grew stronger, the celebration of the feasts became more circumscribed. And in some of the last editions of *B.C.O.* issued in the 1640's, though the Kalendar is present, no festivals are included. These are small duodecimo editions, and there may be some doubt as to whether the festivals were omitted for lack of room, or because of opposition to them.

## III

We now turn to the examination of the contents of the Kalendars. Anyone who has looked through Cowan's *Bibliography* must have noticed the variety in the contents of *B.C.O.* from edition to edition. Cowan does not, however, note the many variations in the Kalendars.

Several tables are connected with the Kalendar, and these appear in most editions. They are—1. A Table for the Golden Number, Epact and Keys of movable Feasts; 2. A Table for the Dominical Letter; 3. A Table for the Shining of the Moon; 4. A Table to find out Movable Feasts; 5. A Rule to know when the Moon riseth and how long she shineth; 6. An Almanack for so many years, 12, 15, 25, or 30, with the Movable Feasts. Many editions have also a table of the Fairs, which remains much the same. In some cases there is "a brief declaration for easy understanding of the Almanack and Kalendar," and this sometimes replaces the list of Fairs, though the catchword "The" on the previous page may remain.

Some editions have also an "Address by William Stewart to the Reader," and some a sonnet entitled, "William Stewart to the Church of Scotland." In the Accounts of the Thirds of Benefices, there is a note of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh, 1931, p. 299ff.

an annual sum of £133 6s. 8d. paid to " William Stewart, Ross Herald, translater of sic werkes as is necessar for edifying of the people."<sup>1</sup>

Another interesting feature of some of the later editions of *B.C.O.* is the presence on the pages of the Kalendar, either at the top or at the foot, of curious four-line verses. Here is an example from the month of September in the 1634 edition :

Now mayest thou physick safelie take,  
And bleed and bath, for thine health's sake ;  
Eat figges and Grapes and Spicerie  
For to refresh thy members drie.

Similar verses appear in Latin in the Sarum Kalendars,<sup>2</sup> and in English in many editions of the *Book of Hours*.

To come to the Kalendar itself. Here we describe the Kalendar of the edition of 1564, the first to have a Kalendar. It gives one month to the page, and each page has seven columns. 1. Sunrise, H. and m. ; 2. Golden Number ; 3. Sunday Letter ; 4. Change of the Moon, H. and m. (B stands for a.m., A for p.m.) ; 5. The date of the month ; 6. The festival days ; 7. Sunset, H. and m.

It is the sixth column in which we are particularly interested, as there is nothing unusual in the others. The entries in it are astronomical and ecclesiastical.

The astronomical entries include Sun in Aquarius, Sun in Pisces, Sun in Aries, and so on, one position of the sun in the zodiac for each month. We also have in July, " Dog-days begin," and in August, " Dog-days end." Entries such as these appear regularly in many other service-books. The ecclesiastical entries are those which mark the festival days, and in some cases events in scriptural history or even secular history. We discuss the festivals first.

The edition of 1564 contains 23 festival days, the following being a list in Kalendar order. 1 Jan.-Circumcision ; 6 Jan.-Epiphany ; 25 Jan.-Conversion of Paul ; 2 Feb.-Purification of Mary ; 24 Feb.-Matthias ; 25 Mar.-Annunciation of Mary ; 1 May-Philip and James ; 11 June-Barnabas ; 24 June-Nativity of John Baptist ; 25 July-James Apostle ; 1 Aug.-Peter ad Vincula ; 10 Aug.-St. Lawrence ; 15 Aug.-Assumption of Mary ; 24 Aug.-Bartholomew ; 8 Sept.-Nativity of Mary ; 19 Sept.-S. Michael ; 18 Oct.-S. Luke ; 28 Oct.-Simon and Jude ; 11 Nov.-S. Martin ; 30 Nov.-S. Andrew ; 13 Dec.-Lucy Virgin ; 21 Dec.-Thomas

<sup>1</sup> See Laing, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 334; also Scottish History Society, Third Series, Vol. xlvi, p. 188; cp. pp. 95, 152, 180, 193.

<sup>2</sup> See Brightman, *The English Rite*, Vol. I, pp. 78f.

Apostle ; 25 Dec.—Nativity of our Lord. It should be noted that in many editions some of the festivals are not exactly placed, being set by error of the printer opposite a wrong though adjacent date.

If we arrange these festivals in groups, we find three festivals of our Lord—Circumcision, Epiphany and Christmas; four festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary—Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity; twelve feasts of Apostles—Conversion of Paul, Matthias, Philip and James, Barnabas, James Apostle, Bartholomew, Luke, Simon and Jude, Andrew, and Thomas, with, in addition, Peter ad Vincula, which celebrates the dedication date of a church in Rome, and the Nativity of John Baptist; and finally, four others—Lawrence, Michael, Martin and Lucy Virgin.

This list has some interesting features. There are only three feasts of our Lord, but we must remember that the Kalendar contains only the immovable feasts, and that the movable feasts belonging to the Easter cycle do not appear, and therefore it may be supposed that Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday are additional. They are in fact given in the table of movable feasts. As to the feasts of Mary, the first two may be and often are regarded as feasts of our Lord, being also known as the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, and the Conception of our Lord. The other two, the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary, are strange feasts to appear in a reformed Kalendar. Indeed this Scottish Kalendar appears to be the only reformed Kalendar in which the Assumption appears. As to the Apostles, the omission of S. John, Apostle and Evangelist, is curious, partly because of his importance among the twelve, and partly because his feast was both early and widespread. He appears only in three of the editions of *B.C.O.*, so far as these have been examined, viz., in †1594, †1625 and †1633 on 27 Dec. As for the other four feasts, the reason for their inclusion is obscure. It may be suggested that the days of Lawrence, Michael and Martin are entered as being days of Fairs, but if so, one must ask why so many other saints' days which were also Fairs are omitted. Again, Michael and Martin were terms in Scotland, but that would not explain Lawrence. And neither of these explanations suits the inclusion of Lucy Virgin. This was Lucy of Syracuse, one of the Virgins whose names are recited in the Canon of the Mass.

Now let us see how these festivals appeared through the series of editions of *B.C.O.*, those consulted being of the years 1564-65, 1575, 1594 (C.19), 1594 (C. 20), 1599, 1611, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1622, 1625, 1633, 1634, 1635 (C.57), fourteen representative editions. The following fourteen feasts out of the 23 in †1564 appear in all these editions: Circumcision, Conversion of Paul, Purification of Mary, Matthias (erroneously called

Matthew in †1594), Annunciation, Philip and James, Nativity of John Baptist, James Apostle, Lawrence, Bartholomew, Martin (erroneously called Marie in †1617), Lucy Virgin, Thomas Apostle, and Nativity of our Lord, sometimes called Zule or Christmas. Epiphany is omitted only in †1625 and †1633. Barnabas is in all except †1634 and †1635, but in †1617 the name is given as Bernard, and in †1625 and †1633 as Bernhard. Peter ad Vincula is in some editions as such, but in †1587, †1615, †1622, †1625, †1633 and †1635, the day is called Lammas, and in †1634, Peter ad Vincula or Lammas. The Assumption of Mary is in all except †1594, where the day is called Lady Day. In this same edition the Annunciation is also called Lady Day, and these were often distinguished as Former and Latter Lady Day. The Nativity of Mary is in all except †1594 and †1622, and Michael is in all except †1622, though in †1615 the day is called S. Michael and All Angels, this being taken from *B.C.P.* which in turn derived it from Cosin's *Private Devotions*. Luke, and Simon and Jude, are in all except †1622; and finally Andrew is in all except †1611, †1617, †1625, †1633 and †1634. One wonders why the Scottish Saint should be so neglected. It is possible that some omissions were accidental. We might compare the omission of Barnabas from the Kalendar of *B.C.P.* (1552), though the collect and proper lessons were provided.

Next we note the additions made to the original list of 23 festivals.

†1587 added Mary Magdalene, 22 July; Decollation of John Baptist, 30 Aug.; and Conception of Mary, 8 Dec.

†1594 is difficult to analyse, because here the list of Fairs is collated with the Kalendar, but the following seem to be added: Mary Magdalene, 22 July; Matthew Apostle, 21 Sept.; Hallow Day, 1 Nov.; S. Stephen, 26 Dec.; S. John Evangelist, 27 Dec.; Innocents Day, 28 Dec. The names of many other saints appear in connection with Fairs, e.g., Patrick, Cuthbert, Dennis, Katherine, and Nicholas.

†1615 adds the same three as †1587.

†1622 adds these three, and also S. George, 24 April; Mark Evangelist, 25 April, and All Saints, 1 Nov.

†1625 and †1633 add to the original group of †1564 a different set: S. Edward, 5 Jan.; S. Mark Evangelist, 25 April; Christ's Ascension, 6 May; S. Steven (*sic*), 26 Dec.; S. John, 27 Dec.; Innocents, 28 Dec.

†1634 adds only Mark Evangelist, 25 April; and Christ's Ascension, 6 May.

†1635 (C.57) adds S. George, 25 April; Mark Evangelist, 25 April; Christ's Ascension, 6 May; Mary Magdalene, 22 July; John Beheaded, 30 Aug.; All Saints, 1 Nov.; Conception of Mary, 7 Dec.

With regard to these additions to the original list, Ascension should not strictly find a place in the Kalendar since it is a movable feast. As to the other additions, many of them seem to be due to the influence of *B.C.P.* This seems particularly true of the editions which belong to the first Episcopacy where the southern influence was at its strongest. But as we shall see, many of these festivals appear also in the Genevan Kalendars.

A second set of entries in the Kalendar record various scriptural or secular events. The editions of *B.C.O.* which contain these seem to come in a group in the last two decades of the 16th century. The entries which number 35 are exactly the same in †1587 (C.17) and †1594 (C.19), and †1599 (C.24). In †1594 (C.20) thirteen of the entries are omitted leaving 22, though two of these are on slightly different dates, perhaps due to the printer's error. Here follows a list of the 35 events with their dates, as given in †1587.

10 Jan.—Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem ; 24 Jan.—Caius Caligula killed ; 11 Feb.—Noe sent birdes abrod ; 18 Feb.—Noe sent again ; 3 Mar.—Temple at Jerusalem built again ; 12 Mar.—Lazarus dieth ; 13 Mar.—Fasting of Hester ; 25 Mar.—Veneis begun to be besieged ; 1 April—Rome destroyed by Alaric ; 1 April—Temple purged ; 11 April—Josue circumcisid the people in Gilgal ; 17 April—Pharao perseweth the people of Israel ; 18 April—Peopel passed through Red Sea ; 22 April—Peopel come to Mara ; 6 May—Rome taken by the Duke of Barbone ; 15 May—Manna sent down ; 17 May—Noe entered in the Ark ; 27 May—Noe came forth ; 29 May—Constantinople taken ; 1 June—People came to Sinai ; 6 June—Alexander the Great born ; 23 June—Proclamation of Asuerus ; 8 July—John Hus burnt ; 16 July—Rome overthrown by Gauls ; 29 July—James VI crowned, 1567 ; 1 Aug.—Aaron died ; 19 Aug.—Octavius Augustus died ; 13 Sept.—Titus died ; 26 Sept.—Solyman besieged Vienna ; 1 Oct.—Feast of Trumpets ; 15 Oct.—Feast of Tabernacles ; 3 Nov.—Constantius died, 364 ; 15 Nov.—Jeroboam erected two golden calves ; 17 Nov.—Vespasian born ; 15 Dec.—Surrender of the Isle of Rhodes, 1523.

What shall we say about these curious entries ? However strange they may seem the Kalendar of *B.C.O.* is by no means unique in this respect.

I. Cranmer when preparing for *B.C.P.* made various drafts of the Kalendar, two of which survive in MS., and in the second of these he put in no fewer than 60 names of saints and heroes of both Testaments and the Apocrypha. Some of the patriarchs and prophets had been invoked in some mediaeval litanies, and are commemorated in some Kalendars and Martyrologies of the same era, but, asks Vernon Staley,<sup>1</sup> "Where are

<sup>1</sup> *Hierurgia Anglicana*, III, p. 248.

we to find a parallel for all the Old and New Testament characters thus proposed to be introduced into the Kalendar by Cranmer?" The answer is that they are to be found in *B.C.O.*, in the Genevan Psalters and elsewhere. Though these are later than the drafts, it is doubtful if Cranmer had any influence on them.

2. Next, we notice the Kalendar of Adam King,<sup>1</sup> dated 1589, which was prefixed to his translation of the Catechism of Canisius.<sup>2</sup> In this Kalendar every day of the year has a commemoration of some kind, including many minor Scottish and other saints. But there are also many entries of a nature similar to those we are considering. Thus, he has no fewer than six entries about Noah and the Ark, mostly on days different from but near to those in *B.C.O.* He also includes references to the journey to the Promised Land, more in number than those in *B.C.O.*, and to the Book of Esther. In addition there are such entries as these : 26 Feb.—Moses deit and was bureit be the angel in the mont Nebo ; 4 Mar.—The victorie of Judas Machabaeus aganes Nicanor, lewttenant to the King of Syria ; 25 Mar.—The immolatione of Isaac be Abraham ; 9 April—The Jews celebratit the first paschal lamb in Egypt ; 14 June—Elisaeus the Prophete bureit in Samaria Palestina ; 6 July—Esayas the Prophete was cuttit in twa partis be Manasses King of Jewda and bureit at Rogel ; 2 Oct.—The Arke of the Covenant of the Lord was borne into the Temple of Salomon.

Once again, New Testament events are far fewer than Old Testament. Apart from the days of the Apostles, Epiphany, Christmas, Innocents Day, and the Festivals of Mary, there are : 16 Mar.—Christ raisit Lazarus from daith ; 19 Mar.—S. Marie the sister of Lazarus did inoynt the feit of our Lord at Bathania ; 23 Mar.—Christ eit the paschall lambe with his disciples and institutit the sacrifice of his bodie and bloud in the Mass efter Supper ; 25 Mar. has not only the Annunciation but also the Creation of the world ; 15 July—The departing of the apostles in the haill world to preche under Claudius.

Incidentally, Epiphany is called Uphaliday, and all three commemorations connected with this day are mentioned, namely, the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles represented by the Wise Men, His manifestation to the world at His baptism, and the manifestation of His miraculous power in the miracle at Cana. There are also 17 events in secular history, placed

<sup>1</sup> Little seems to be known of Adam King. He was a native of Edinburgh, and professor of philosophy and mathematics at Paris. He translated the Catechism, and " maid " the " Kallender perpetuale."

<sup>2</sup> *Catholic Tractates of the 16th Century*. Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1901, pp. liv-lvi, and 173-216. See also Forbes, *Kalendars of the Scottish Church* p. xxxvi.

on 14 days, including : 7 April—Plato was born ; 24 April—Troye efter ten yeares seage was tane and brount be the Grecians ; 29 May—Constantinople was tane be Mahomete 2 emperour of the Turkis ; 15 June—The concile of Nice begowth vnder Siluest. Pape and Const. Emper.; 10 Dec.—Bellisarius recowereit Rome frome the Gothis under Justiniane.

Obviously this Kalendar has many affinities with that of *B.C.O.* There is “ ane ample declaration of the Kalendar ” which includes an attack on the Kalendar of Pont. King complains that the protestants have left out of the Kalendar “ all memory of Pasche Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and others which have ever been observed among all Christians since the beginning.” Further he says that “ albeit forced be the veritie thay put the Natiuitie of our Sauiour on the 25 of December, yeit, through invy of the Catholic kirk . . . they celebrat it nocht as haly day, and mekle less the dayes of our blissid lady, mother of Christ, and vther sanctes quhilkis thay haiff put also in thair Kelendare.” We have seen that there is evidence that some of these days continued to be celebrated in the Scots kirk. Must we then suppose that King is going by the official refusal to recognise such days in a religious way ? But further, whence did King derive the idea of inserting these scriptural events in his Kalendar ? It looks as if he had taken them from the protestant Kalendars. Was he following the reformers in the use of the Bible ?

Another point King makes is this. He asks how anyone can accept a Kalendar which includes references both to Luther and to Calvin, because, he alleges, the Calvinists will not accept Luther, and the Lutherans will not accept Calvin—how then can both these men be commemorated in the same Kalendar ? Here he is apparently referring to Pont’s Kalendar, to which we now turn.

3. Robert Pont’s Kalendar is printed in certain Bibles issued in Edinburgh. In Arbuthnot’s Bible of 1579, it is entitled “Ane Double Calendare, to wit, the Romane and the Hebrew Calendaris, conferred and agreed the one with the other, meete for understanding of the dayes, monethes, and yeres mencioned in the Bible. And conteining many other profitable thingis.” The Kalendar is printed in two columns, the Roman to the left of the page and the Hebrew to the right. On the Roman side there are many festival days as found in the Roman service-books. Thus : 1 Jan.—Circumcision ; 6 Jan.—Epiphanie or apparitione of Jesus ; 20 Jan.—Fabian and Sebastian, Mart. ; 21 Jan.—Agnes ; 1 Feb.—Brigide ; 2 Feb.—Purification of Marie ; 24 Feb.—Mathi. Apost. ; 7 Mar.—Perpetua and Felicitas. Mart. ; 15 Aug.—Assumption of Marie ; 25 Dec.—Nativitie of the Lord Jesus ; 26 Dec.—Steven ; 27 Dec.—Johhn Apostle ; 28 Dec.—Innocents. This Kalendar is called Roman, probably not because of

these entries, but because the days are numbered in Roman fashion. There are also many events to which King objected in his attack on Pont. Thus: 18 Feb.-Martine Luther slept in the Lord, 1546; 14 Feb.-John Hooper Mart.; 27 Feb.-Patrik Hamilton, Mar. in Scot., 1528; 1 Mar.-George Wisharde, Mar. in Scot., 1548; 21 Mar.-Thomas Cranmer, bishop of Canterb., Mar. 1546; 31 Dec.-John Wicleffe preacher, slept in the Lord, 1387.

In the Hebrew Kalendar the dates are given according to the Hebrew months, and many scriptural events are included. Thus: Shebat xi (26 Jan.), Noa sent furthe the raven; and after the dove out of the Ark. Other events are connected with Noah, with the journey to the Promised Land, the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem and so on, a set of the same kind as we have already noticed both in *B.C.O.* and in King.

There are rules for understanding this "double Calendare." After a brief explanation, Pont adds, "Easter-day also & Witsunday, may be here fund in their owne place, what Sunday they fall euerie yere. So that you (need take) no other Almanake, but this Hebrew Calendare." In the Kalendar for April we read, "Passover. The 14 day at euin the Passover was eiten. The 15 day was the feast. Exod. 12. Nōb. 28. The next Sunday after the Passover was Easter Day, after the Fathers. The 15 day also Christ the trewe Passover was crucified and raised frō death the 17 day; but ye Jewes transferred the Passover that yere to the 16 day, becuse it was ye Sabbath day, as appeareth, John 19. Easter day falleth now the first Sunday after the 18 day of Nisan continually."

It is thus clear that Pont's Kalendar was in line with the others of the same period.

4. One other comparison may be made, namely, with some Kalendars in Bibles printed in England. Thus, the Bishops' Bible (e.g., London, 1568) has a Kalendar comparable with that of *B.C.P.*, but with festivals of apostles, bishops, martyrs and virgins. But the Genevan Bible, issued in London in 1583, has a Kalendar similar to that of the Genevan Psalter with references to Noah, Ahasuerus, Luther, Melanchthon, and others, but with some English historical events, e.g., Duke of Somerset beheaded; birth and accession of Elizabeth.

There was therefore around this period a widespread use of scriptural events in the Kalendars, and it seems most likely that these came originally from the Kalendar of the Genevan Psalter.

5. The Genevan Psalters.<sup>1</sup> The first edition with Kalendar is apparently that of 1562, and the various editions show many differences in the entries, just as is the case with *B.C.O.* We take two editions as representative of the two types of Kalendars.

The Psalter of 1567 contains 35 festivals, compared with the 23 of *B.C.O.* (1564). These 23 are all in Geneva 1567 except Assumption of Mary and Lucy Virgin, which indeed do not seem to occur in any edition. The additional 14 are : 22 Jan.-Vincent ; 25 April-S. Mark ; 22 July-S. Magdalene ; 25 July-S. Anne ; 21 Sept.-S. Matthew ; 1 Nov.-All Saints ; 25 Nov.-S. Catherine ; 6 Dec.-S. Nicolas ; 8 Dec.-Conception of Mary ; 26 Dec.-S. Stephen ; 27 Dec.-S. John Evangelist ; 28 Dec.-Innocents. Most of these were, as we have seen, added to later editions of *B.C.O.*

The 1577 edition of the Genevan Psalter contains a much fuller list of events, not only festivals in the proper sense of the word, but scriptural and secular events of the same kind as in *B.C.O.*, Adam King, and R. Pont. With few exceptions the events in *B.C.O.* 1587 are found here, but there are 43 events instead of 35. Some of these appeared in early editions of the Genevan Psalter. Thus, Noah's Ark is mentioned in the 1562 edition. Some of those which are not in *B.C.O.* are as follows : 18 Feb.-death of Martin Luther, "ce vray serviteur de Dieu" in 1546 ; 27 May-death of John Calvin, "homme de singulier savoir et grand piété," 1564 ; 6 June-The Temple of Diana of Ephesus was burned, 54 B.C. ; 6 July-Edward VI, King of England, died in 1553 ; 8 July-John Hus was burned at the Council of Constance in 1415 "pour maintenir la vérité de l'évangile" ; 1 Aug.-Aaron died the 40th year after the exodus from Egypt ; 27 Aug.-The Reformation according to the truth of the Gospel took place in the very renowned city of Geneva in the year 1535. That there was a connection between *B.C.O.* and the Genevan Psalters seems to be quite certain.

#### IV

As a result of what has been said, two questions seem to demand consideration. First, Whence were the Kalendars of *B.C.O.* derived ? and second, For what purpose were they printed in *B.C.O.* ?

I. THE SOURCE.—There can be little doubt that the two main sources were the Genevan Psalter and *B.C.P.* *B.C.O.* derived a great deal from

<sup>1</sup> I have been able to consult only a few editions of the Genevan Psalter, but I am greatly indebted to M. Aug. Bouvier, Director of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire of Geneva, for valuable help in the matter of the contents of the Kalendar.

Geneva, which is not a surprise when we consider how much else in the Scottish Reformed Church came from that city. It seems clear that the historical events in certain of the Kalendars were taken from that source. However curious the selection of these may seem, many of them appear in all the books we have examined. Probably many of the Holy Days were placed in the Kalendar through the same influence. The later development of the Kalendar in the 17th century seems to have been due more to *B.C.P.*, both the royal and the episcopal urge being in the direction of fuller observance, though it should not be forgotten that many of the later additions were also in the Genevan Psalters. It seems unlikely that the Kalendar of Adam King had any influence on *B.C.O.*; it is rather probable that he was influenced by *B.C.O.*, Pont and Geneva.

If we ask further, from what source the Genevan Kalendar was derived, that is not easy to answer. The Holy Days, we may suppose, are part of the inheritance from the mediaeval Church, but why the scriptural and secular events were added is obscure. It may be that the return to scriptural standards on the part of the Reformers suggested the insertion of these events.

2. THE PURPOSE.—Why was the Kalendar inserted in *B.C.O.*? As we saw, the official attitude was against the festivals, though in spite of that the observance continued. We should have thought that the authorities would have been on the alert to forbid the printing of the Kalendar at all, or at least to forbid the inserting of Saints' Days. It will be remembered that when in one edition of *B.C.O.* a certain prayer was altered without authority, the printer, Raban, was censured by the Assembly of 1640. The insertion of the festivals could therefore have easily been prevented. The Kalendar itself was of course of practical value, inasmuch as it showed the times of sunrise, sunset, phases of the moon, and so on, and as we have seen, some of the latest editions of *B.C.O.* had nothing else. Yet for so long, the festivals were there, and among them, strangest of all, the Assumption of Mary, and Lucy Virgin.

One reason suggested is that these days, though bearing the names of saints, were of secular interest, on account of the holding of Fairs on some of the dates, or for the verification of terms and other days. There may be here a parallel with *B.C.P.*. In *B.C.P.* the red-letter days were for liturgical observance, but the black-letter days, which were placed in the edition of 1552, were not. The traditional explanation for their insertion is in line with the reply of the bishops to the puritans in 1661. They said that the black-letter saints "are left in the Kalendar, not that they should be so kept as holy days, but they are useful for the preservation

of their memories, and for other reasons, as for leases, law days, etc."<sup>1</sup> So, it may be suggested, with the entries in *B.C.O.* They were not meant to be observed as Holy Days, but were mentioned only for secular purposes such as terms and Fairs.

That however does not appear to be wholly satisfactory. Thus, there is in many editions a list of Fairs apart from the Kalendar, and the list includes some of the days noted in the Kalendar, but also many days not so noted. Why and on what principle was a selection of the days made for insertion in the Kalendar? Again, some festivals in the Kalendar do not appear to have been either Fairs or term days. The answer suggested above does not therefore appear to be altogether convincing.

As to the scriptural and secular events noticed in some editions, the idea of terms and Fairs cannot explain them. Nor could the purpose be that of commemorating the events in public worship. The dates could not all have been Sundays, nor could they have been fitted into the weekday services. Indeed, it seems that every day of the week is included in the list at one place or another. It is possible, however, that there was an educational motive behind their insertion in the Kalendar.

One is, however, puzzled by the question on what principles the selection was made. Why should there have been only one New Testament event, and that the death of Lazarus? Many much more important and interesting happenings could have been chosen. And again, why was this kind of selection for *B.C.O.* limited to the period of approximately twenty years? One must regret that such speculations cannot now be answered with any certainty.

Whether the purpose of the Kalendar was secular or not, it appears that the presence of the festivals in the Kalendar of *B.C.O.* must have tended to encourage the observance of at least some of the days as Holy Days. Those who used the Kalendar must have been reminded of some of the great events of salvation-history. While the Courts of the Church were fulminating against the festivals, the Kalendar must have continued to exert its silent witness, and in consequence many ministers must have been impelled to make use of the idea of the Christian Year.

In our day there is a tendency to a fuller observance which can, if extravagance be avoided, add to the variety and richness and objectivity of the worship of the Church, and can make possible the presentation of the Gospel in a clear and ordered form, and which may have also a certain value as a theological factor favouring a larger unity in the whole Church.

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 340-1.